and just above the teeth, done with soot, achieves a much darker affect.

302 Women's coiffure is more elaborate and more regularly attended to than any other part of body care, not only by divorcees, but also by respectably married Amhara women; though the former have it done more often and more elaborately. The work is done by a woman beautician, whose bigrest season is before religious holy days. The hair is braided front to back; and the finer the braid the more numerous the braids, the more prestigeful, and the more expensive. The thickest and cheapest braiding costs 25 ¢ Ethiopian, ("nätäla shämo", lit. a half-done hairdo); a medium job costs 50 ¢ ("derb"); a fairly good job alternating one thick with one thin braid, called "sereng" costs 75 ¢; the thinnest, finest braids, "qechen", in which no fluffy hair is left between or above the braids, costs Eht $1.- (in Gondar), and takes several hours. Sometimes a slight variation of this hairdo leaves a horizontal, thin braid of hair across the upper forehead. The hair at the end of the braid, sticking out over the base of the skull, is left fluffy, ("jofiofe"), because the men like to caress the nape of the women's neck, and the hairdo carefully leaves this area free.

Butter boiled with the "ades" leaves is placed on the hairdo, and the smell of this is believed by the women to attract the men. When butter is put on unbraided hair, the hair is covered with a cloth. If

301 the hair is braided, a thick ribbon of cotton, sometimes dyed green by a divorcee who wants to advertise that she is available, is tied around the forehead, to catch the flow of butter when it melts in the heat of the day. This ribbon, ("gardaba", or "gälbe", or "mäläyo") formerly represented decorations given by their warlord commander to men who served as soldiers, but now women have taken it as their fashion, particularly the divorcees who can experiment more freely than wives, without being criticized. Well-to-do women or divorcees will

302 attempting to grow a rich one. This rich beard - though really a full goatee - is called "tïnä aron" (lit. beard of Aaron) in Geez, and is worn with the pride of the elder. Hair is also left on the upper lip, but usually does not grow very long or rich.

301 Ornaments are worn almost exclusively by women, and often include items that also have utility: the metal or wooden pin ("walaba" or "wolba") that is stuck in the tight hair and also used to scratch; an earwax spoon of metal, suspended from the matab neckcord on which are also suspended a small cross, amulets, (keys in modern situation), etc. Necklaces ("qwad") may be of wooden beads. In recent years country women have become very fond of a necklace of imported bluish glass rings ("deba"), which can do double duty in scouring and burnishing the clay pottery. A necklace of 130 of these rings costs 50 ¢ (Ethiopian). Also widespread is the use of a beaded strap with a large button-like center ("shotälay") which is worn on the forehead as an amulet, e.g. by women who have sufferred several miscarriages. A metal bracelet, ("ambar") was formerly given to soldiers as decoration, but has now become a women's fashion, worn on upper arms or legs.

B. Fine Arts

531 Artistic expression in the fine arts bears the stamp of the
[566] feudal lord, who alone was in a position to order, encourage and reward individual craftsmen and their apprentices; and of the Abyssinian Coptic church.

The feudal lord commanded decorative arts relating to warfare, such
[282] as the previously described rhinoceros shields. Another common object is the saddlecover ("degus"), made by experienced tanners out of leather, with geometric designs impressed by hot irons; fine leather stitching; and metal ornaments fastened on by the smiths. These designs and ornaments are still found, e.g. on leather cases containing the "dawit" (Psalter) written on parchment made of tanned goatskin.

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

main purpose, but of course they cannot be closed up. Ordinary umbrellas are never used by the Abyssinians, though huge and brilliant coloured umbrellas are used by priests and other important personages on ceremonial occasions.

On feast days the chiefs and other functionaries at Court change their cotton shirt for one of silk or satin, gorgeously embroidered in gold and silver, and in various colours. And finally a pelerine of bright-coloured cloth of velvet, or, better still, of lion or black leopard skin ornamented in silver and silver-gilt, is permitted to be worn by those only whom it is desired to distinguish on account of specially meritorious conduct, generally in war.

The full-dress costume of a Ras or Dejazmach, with bristling lion's mane head-dress, velvet cape with lion's mane collar, embroidered in gold and silver-gilt, and gala shield and sword-scabbard covered with velvet and embossed with silver-gilt ornamentation, is a really magnificent one, and the appearance of Dejazmach Nado, the envoy to King George in 1919, at Buckingham Palace in this dress caused quite a sensation.

Mention must also be made of one article which is an indispensable adjunct to the dress of every Christian Abyssinian, and that is the *matab*, a silken cord carrying an amulet or charm, which is worn round the neck as the badge of their faith.

The gentler sex affect as much jewellery of all sorts, bracelets, rings, anklets, necklaces, earrings, etc., as they are able to procure; these are of native make as already described. As a general rule they have extraordinarily small *attaches*, and of all the native bracelets that we collected in and round Addis Ababa none

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
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301 would meet round the wrist of any of our English friends.

302 The fashion amongst the women of wearing the hair, which is jet black, varies, and sometimes it is left about two or three inches long, curling and waving, thus forming a becoming frame to the face. More common, perhaps, is the style of doing up the hair into dozens of tiny plaits taking the form of the head, the ends being loosely tied together on the neck and left to hang; some affect a parting down the middle of their heads, puff the hair out at the sides, and do it up in a chignon at the back like many Europeans. Amongst the lowest classes one finds perhaps most frequently in both sexes the head shaved, the hair being allowed to grow till uncomfortable and then shaved again. This shaving appears to us a somewhat painful process, and to be an apt illustration of the dictum that *il faut souffrir pour être beau*; for one frequently sees the operation in progress, two forms squatting on the ground, one shaving the other with a bit of broken glass-bottle.

Children as a general rule also have their heads shaved, but a tuft of hair is often left on the crown of the head, or a fringe round their forehead, and young boys frequently have the head bare except for a strip of hair extending from the back of the neck to the forehead over the centre of the head, which gives the appearance of a cock's comb and is most comical.

The Abyssinians of the people are also addicted to buttering their heads, of which unpleasant (though fortunately not universal) practice I have been given three explanations. The first is that it is done for purposes of adornment, which is understandable; the

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

habit is not confined to Abyssinia! The second, which is more curious, is that of protection against the sun's rays. In this connection it is interesting to recall that Mr Mansfield Parkyns, who spent three years in Abyssinia, used no head covering of any sort at any time other than a coating of butter, which he says he found as effective as any hat.

The third (and most frivolous) reason is that butter in the hair hampers the free movement (and consequent irritation) of the little creatures that live there. There is possibly something in this, as a "head-scratcher", in the form of a blunt silver or wooden pin, is a general ornament, as incidentally is also an "ear-cleaner" which resembles a small salt-spoon.

In some parts of the country where the hairdressing mode is of an elaborate character, the women, when lying down to sleep, use wooden head-rests for their necks, made of a slightly curved piece of wood supported on a sort of foot, the whole being a few inches high. Some of these are quite elaborately carved or coloured; but however pleasing they may be to the eye—and I have seen some very pretty ones—they must make exceedingly uncomfortable pillows, and the use of them appears to argue an even greater interest in personal appearance than European women display. These head-rests are of very ancient origin; they are curiously similar to the one discovered in Tutankhamen's tomb.

The more wealthy Abyssinians are very partial to scents and scented hair oils; the strength of the scent is more important to them than its quality, and the shops in Addis Ababa do a brisk trade in inferior

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

leisurely style of life of his social superiors. He would prefer, if he could but acquire the necessary servants and corvée labor, to "cause to plow" (*ās-ārasa*) rather than to plow (*ārasa*) himself.

If, in sketching the Amhara peasant's conception of the "good life," one moves from the sphere of goals to that of norms and values, one may say that while work as such is not conceived as an absolute value, the work of plowing one's land is regarded as a primary moral responsibility. The peasant's obligations toward his land extend beyond working it, moreover. At the local level he is supposed to keep it within his family, and should be ready to defend his rights to land use against all comers. At the national level he should help to keep the land "free"; that is, out of the hands of all foreigners.

Obligations toward the deity are mostly of a ritual nature. Observing the fasts and avoiding forbidden foods are perhaps most important of all. It is also important to wear the symbol of the Ethiopian Christian, the *mātab*, a simple neckcord often holding a wrought silver cross. The church should be visited and heavy work avoided on the appropriate holy days. Prayers should not be neglected. When one passes by a church he should bow three times; when he enters a church compound he should "greet" the ark by kissing some stone or pole of the church building.

The Amhara's ideal of Christian piety does, however, include certain good works which should be carried out in order to gain God's favor—giving alms to the indigent, visiting the sick or the prisoner, and aiding the wayfarer (who is referred to as a "guest of God"). But such injunctions play a slight part in the Amhara's rhetoric of social morality when compared to his extensive code of "shames," or *nawr*. Stealing and breaking the fasts are among the very worst *nawr*. Other *nawr* include murder without good reason or by a shameful means like poison; adultery; insulting or not showing proper respect toward others; failing to observe the conventions concerning engagement and marriage; failing to revenge offenses; and gossiping about others and thereby stirring up trouble. Though the sense of being shamed before God provides some measure of internal self-control in these matters, the Amhara peasant avoids immoral acts primarily for fear of being the victim of what others will say (*yelugntā*), so that he will not be "seized by shame" (*hāfrat*) or suffer humiliation (*wardat*). His prime moral concern is not to be caught in the act of committing some *nawr*.

Positive moral obligations to persons outside the circle of close ones are thus kept to a minimum. Following the conventions of respect toward superiors and peers is all that is enjoined. The good life for the Amhara peasant is lived within a minimal, Hobbesian order. The ideal neighbor is defined as one who does not touch others (*saw aynakām*). He does not touch another's land, wife, money, or personal feelings.

Among *zamad*, however, a much warmer ideal of human relations obtains.